

MEMOIRS 2

O F *Biography vol 2.*

Sir *Walter Raleigh*;

His *Life*, his Military and Naval *Exploits*, his *Preferments* and *Death* :

In which are Inserted,

The Private Intrigues between the Count of Gondamore, the Spanish Ambassador, and the Lord Salisbury, then Secretary of State.

Written by Mr. THEOBALD. K

The Second Edition.



LONDON: Printed for W. Mears, at the Lamb without Temple-Bar. 1719.

ob. 1618

MEMOIRS

OF

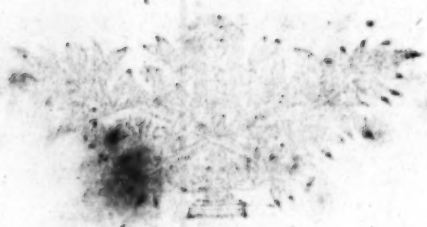
Sir Walter Raleigh

His Life, his Military and Naval Exploits, his Discoveries, and Death

In which are inserted

The Private Letters between the
Court of Admiralty, the Spanish
Ambassadors, and the Secretary of State

Written by J. H. EDWARDS



LONDON: Printed for J. H. Edwards, at the
the Lambeth Tavern, 1719.

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MEMOIRS

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Sir WALTER RALEIGH, &c.



O treat of a Man like *Sir Walter Raleigh*, of such approv'd Sufficiency, and of so diffusive a Praise, so equally great in so many different Parts of Life, is like attempting a Landchap from a high Hill, where the Variety and Extent of the Prospects serve rather to confound, than entertain the Eye, and call for Judgment to correct the Fancy, which is too apt to run riot, and especially when employ'd on too many Objects.

Under such Disadvantages am I to trace *Sir Walter*, thro' a long and mix'd Series of Preferments and Misfortunes: And such were his Excellencies, either as a Statesman or Soldier, Seamen or Chymist, Chronologer or Historian, that I am at a Loss to determine upon which of his Characters I ought to be most copious. The best Method I can propose to do him the most Justice, and make him the least a Sufferer by my own

Inability, is, in his Rise and Actions, his Advancements and Struggles, to follow the best Accounts that are extant of his Times, and to let the Character of his Wit and Learning stand on the Credit of his own History, and those Remains of His which are happily transmitted to Us.

As to his Descent, or the particular Time of his Birth, I shall pass them by for Circumstances of very little Moment: 'twill be sufficient, to satisfy the Over-curious, to take Notice, that he was Born at a Seat of his Family call'd *Hays*, in the Village of *Budely*, or *Budleigh* in *Devonshire*. Whatever Honours might belong to the Name of *Raleigh*, before He enobled it, Time has been pretty Silent as to their Estates; and our *Sir Walter* started into the World the youngest Brother of his Family. They who envied his Promotions, as it is not to be wonder'd, endeavour'd to rob him of his Gentility: but, to defend Him on that Quarter, it was a Statesman's Observation on *Queen ELIZABETH*, that She, through her whole Reign was never guilty of a hasty Creation, or took into her Favour a meer *new Man*, or a *Mechanick*; a Maxim, which succeeding Monarchs have broke through without much Scruple. I remember *Sir Walter* somewhere talks of Nobility in Parchment, either purchas'd by the Owner's Vanity, or conferr'd by the Prince's Favour: and these, says He, are indeed but Honours of Affection, which Kings, with the Change of their Fancies, wish they knew well how to wipe off again.

Where he took the first Impressions of Literature, might be a Matter of vain Disquisition; tho', probably, it was at some private School in the County which claims the Honour of his Birth: And when he was ripen'd to University Learning, we find him a Member of *Oriel College* in *Oxford*. It has been a Doubt, whether the Slenderness of his Fortune, or the Active Disposition and Ambitious Reaches of his Soul, made him so restless and unconfir'd; that he thought an Intenseness to his Studies might be a Bar to his Preferment; and therefore he sought the first Occasions of gaining a Reputation by Business and Action.

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The Author, who has prefix'd His Life to his *History of the World* in Folio, informs us, that Sir *Walter* resolv'd for one of the Inns of Court, which he knew were Places of Esteem with his Queen, and that there he spent his Time, and improv'd himself in the intricate Knowledge of our Laws: But, I believe, in this Circumstance there is a Mistake so obvious, that no Merit can reasonably be assum'd from correcting it: for Sir *Walter* upon his Arraignment, in a Reply to the Attorney General, lays a heavy Imprecation upon himself; if ever he read a Word of the Law, or Statutes, before he was a Prisoner in the Tower.

Sir *Walter*, whose Aim was to recommend himself early to the Notice of the World, had the Advantage of a stirring Age to second his Ambition. France was then imbroil'd in Civil Fends; England, to divert a threaten'd Danger from the growing Power of Spain, lent Assistance to the then distress'd and humble *Hollanders*: Spain, by a political Reprizal, rais'd strong Commotions in Ireland; and the Pope, to make Rebellion more lasting, and give it the necessary Colour of Religion, pretended that Kingdom was a Perquisite of St. Peter. Sir *Walter*, in the heat of these Distractions, thrust himself into Arms, and made some Campaigns in France, the Low Countries, and Ireland. But here he found his Success, or Encouragement, so small, and Reputation so slowly attending his Exploits, that he was resolv'd to try how far a Sea-Voyage might improve his Fortune, or extend his Character. His Thirst of Honour, and Impatience of a Condition below his Spirit, made him a Pattern of Industry in every Employment. The scanty Portion of Sleep that he allowed himself, and his indefatigable Application to Books and Business, made him equally a Master in the Arts of War and Navigation; and he wanted but the Sunshine of a Court to throw out into View those Wonders, which were reserv'd for his riper Years.

Little was he yet heard of at Court, and less were his Expectations of rising there, 'till a Quarrel arose between
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the Lord-Deputy of Ireland, and our *Raleigh*, who was sent with a Captain's Commission into that Kingdom. The Matter was complain'd of, and refer'd to the Hearing of the Council in *England*. In this Juncture, as some Traditions will have it, *Raleigh* found an Advocate in the Great Earl of *Leicester*, who, either out of Spleen to the Lord-Deputy, or a private Interest of his own, (too often the chief Motives of a Statesman's Proceedings;) related the whole Business to the Queen at Council, with no little Advantage to *Raleigh's* Conduct. Others say, he was first introduc'd by *Suffex*, to defeat the Designs, and eclipse the Splendor of *Leicester* his Enemy. His Admission to Court, however grounded, by his Wit and Management, soon open'd him a Passage to Favour and Preferment: For the Queen, who was so good a Judge of a bright Genius, soon found his Capacity of serving her; and so far vouchsaf'd him her Ear, that scarce any thing of Moment was afterwards done, without consulting him upon the Method.

Leicester, now, with invidious Eyes, beheld the prevailing Influence of *Raleigh*, and grew jealous, that his own Interest would artfully be undermin'd by the new Favourite. The best Means he could invent to divert the Current of her Affections, was to send *Raleigh* out of her Sight, and introduce the Earl of *Essex* to her Service. Upon this Schemey he did not fail to insinuate the Pains that *Raleigh* took to make Discoveries, and advance the Glory of the *English* Navigation. The Queen was as willing to listen to his Merit, and sent him on a Voyage to Sea, in which he discover'd that Country, which, in Honour of the Queen, has ever since been call'd *Virginia*. Upon his Return from this Expedition, She rewarded him with the Honour of Knighthood; and amongst other Preferments, gave him the Government of *Jersey* and *Virginia*.

Sir *Walter* now for a while became a Courtier, 'till an indiscreet Passion banish'd him from that Sphere; for happening to debauch one of the Maids of Honour, (whom he afterwards, in Justice to her, and his own

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Fame, married ;) the Frowns of the Queen for some time put a Restraint upon his Liberty. He, who could but ill brook a Confinement that oppos'd the growing of his Fortunes, was not a little importunate to obtain his Freedom ; which obtained, he was no less zealous to get out of the Eye of his Mistress's Displeasure ; judging rightly, that his Absence, and successful Voyage, would be most likely to abate her Resentments, and reconcile him to her Favour. It was about this time that he put himself upon his first *Guiana* Expedition ; a Country that had been so much talk'd of by the *Spaniards*, and, if possess'd by the *English*, was so conveniently situated to annoy *Spain* in her *American* Trade. Sir *Walter* soon made such Discoveries there, that it was mov'd at the *English* Court, that a Colony should be planted there, and some proportionable Force sent over to make good the Action : But his Motion, on Advice, was rejected, in regard of the Distance of the Country from the main Body of our Strength, and because the *Spaniards*, bordering near upon it, might easily cast out our small Forces, and make the Enterprize dishonourable to our Nation. Sir *Walter*, however, upon his Return, found his Discoveries so satisfactory at Court, that the Queen seem'd to have forgot she had ever mis-behav'd, and began anew to cherish him with her Favour.

The Resolutions at Home were now to humble the Insolence of *Spain*, and fairly set on them in their own Ports : A noble Fleet of 150 Sail hereupon was made ready. Robert Earl of *Essex*, and the Lord *Charles Howard*, the Admiral, were made Commanders in Chief, with equal Authority, under the Title of Generals ; and to them were join'd for a Council of War, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Sir *Francis Vere*, Sir *George Carew*, and Sir *Coniers Clifford*. The Fleet soon came to Anchor on the West Side of the Island of *Cales*, and within two Days after it was agreed to attack the *Spanish* Ships. This Agreement was soon put into Execution, and the Bravery of *Essex* and the *English* so far prevail'd, that the *Spaniard*, being miserably torn and murther'd, resolv'd to fire all their Vessels, or run them

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on Ground. In Consequence of this Victory, the Town of *Cales* was soon after taken. Sir *Walter Raleigh* in the mean time was commanded with his Vessels to fire the Merchant-Ships lying at *Port-Real*: Two Millions of Ducats were offer'd for their Redemption, but the Offer was rejected, and they were all burnt, to the infinite damage of the Merchants. After some little cruising on the Spanish Coast, they return'd into England, contrary to the Inclinations of the Earl of *Essex*, who not only would have kept *Cales*, but also have undertaken some new Expedition that Year.

In the following Year, the Queen being inform'd that the King of *Spain* was preparing a new Fleet against *Ireland*, she fitted out a Navy of 120 Sail, divided into Squadrons, the First to be commanded by the Earl of *Essex*, the Second by the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and the Third by Sir *Walter Raleigh*. In this Expedition, they were distress'd with dreadful Tempests, and the Fleet scatter'd: but they met again at the Isles, call'd *Azores*, where *Raleigh* wanting Water, was oblig'd to go on Shore without Leave, and before he could be furnish'd was Commanded to follow *Essex* to *Fayal*; where not finding him, he observed the Port, and calling a Council the Commander advis'd him to attack the Place. Sir *Gill Merick*, a Creature of *Essex*'s, dissuaded Sir *Walter* from this Design, alledging, that it would rob the Earl of the Honour of Taking the Town, and so confirm him his Enemy. But Sir *Walter*, either too ambitious of the Action, or too eager of the Spoil, with some of his chief Volunteers landed, and soon won the Town. The next Day *Essex* arriv'd, and *Merick* sail'd not maliciously insinuate, that Sir *Walter* had made this Attempt to prevent his Lordship in the Honour of the Exploit. Some perswaded the Earl to call a Council of War, and cashier *Raleigh*, and others advis'd the taking off his Head for landing without the Leave of his chief Commander. Sir *Walter*, in his Defence pleaded, That he being one of the three Generals, was not oblig'd to observe the Orders which the inferior Officers and Soldiers were that he was necessitated to land, being in extream War

of Water, which was not to be had without fighting. This Matter was soon made up by the Mediâtion of the Lord Howard, but from That, and former Jealousies, arose such an unhappy Contest and Emulation between the Earl and Raleigh, as never could be thoroughly extinguish'd, but by Death it self.

Essex, at that time, stood in so high Estimation with the People, that Sir *Walter's* Actions were by Prejudice misconstrued, and because he was not *Essex's* Friend, he must of course be an Enemy to his Country: but a short Term of Years took this belov'd Rival out of the way; for the Earl's Heat and Indiscretion run him into Projects so indirect, as made his Life dangerous to the Safety of the Queen, and she was oblig'd, tho' with much Reluctancy, to submit to his Execution. When the Earl was brought to the Scaffold, as most People believ'd Sir *Walter* pleas'd at the Occasion, so he was highly reflected on for coming openly to see him die, as if it were on purpose to insult in the Sacrifice of his Enemy: But if we are to believe his own dying Words, he protested, *That he shed Tears at the Earl's Death, tho' he was one of the contrary Faction; and that he was all the while in the Armoury at the further end, where he could but see Essex, and was sorry that he was not with him, because he heard that Essex had a desire to see, and be reconciled to him.*

The Queen did not long survive the Fate of that Favourite, and Affairs as soon chang'd to the Disadvantage of Sir *Walter*: For when King *James* came in, and the Lord *Cobham* and Sir *Walter* had design'd to meet him on the Road, he sent them word, *That they might save themselves that Labour.* The Consequences of such Coolness gave room for private Discontents, which were heighten'd by Sir *Walter's* being turn'd out of his Place of Caprain of the Guards, which was given to a *Scotch* Lord. Whatever dangerous Measures he entred into, to revenge the Contempts shewn to his Merits, Accusations arose to a Suspicion of Treason, and Sir *Walter*, the Lord *Cobham*, and several others were apprehended, and committed to the Tower.

In the November following, the Pestilence raging at London, they were remov'd from the Tower, under strong Guard, to be arraign'd at *Winchester*. Their Indictment lay for conspiring to kill the King, to raise a Rebellion, to alter the Religion, subvert the State, and procure a foreign Invasion. Concerning the first Point, it was prov'd, that *Thomas Lord Grey* design'd to obtain the levying of 2000 Men for the Defence of the *Netherlands*, and with them to seize upon the King and Prince, and secure the Lords of the Council in their Chambers. For the other Particulars, it was alledg'd, That the Lord *Cobham* and Sir *Walter Raleigh* met at *St. Martins* in the Fields, and there consulted about moving Sedition, raising Rebellion, altering Religion, subverting the State, and setting up the Lady *Arabella Stuart*. That Sir *Walter* was appointed to treat with Count *Aremberg* for a large Sum of Money, and the Lord *Cobham* to apply himself to the Arch-Duke and King of *Spain*, to induce them to assist the Lady *Arabella*.

It was much insisted, by their Friends, in behalf of the Prisoners, that these things could not be Treason, because the King was not yet crown'd: And besides, That the whole Accusation was but a Verbal Matter, and never took Effect, therefore it could not be Treason. These were look'd upon but as evasive Pleas, offer'd in Mitigation, rather to skreen than excuse the Offenders, and therefore had no Influence upon the Proceedings against them.

Sir *Walter*, on the 17th Day of November, 1603. was brought to his Tryal before the Earl of *Suffolk*, Lord Chamberlain; the Earl of *Devon*; Lord *Henry Howard*; Lord *Cecil*, Earl of *Salisbury*; Lord *Wootten*; Sir *John Stanhope*, Vice-Chamberlain; Lord Chief Justice *Popham*, Lord Chief Justice *Anderson*, Mr. Justice *Gaudie*, Mr. Justice *Warburton*, and others, Commissioners by special Delegate assign'd. The Indictment being read, Sir *Walter* was ask'd, if he would except against any of his Jury? To which he reply'd, No, he knew none of them; they

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they were all Christians and honest Gentlemen; but pray'd, that he might answer to Points particularly as they were delivered, by reason of the Weakness of his Memory, and Sicknes. Then began *Heath*, the King's Serjeant at Law, and Sir *Edward Cook*, the Attorney-General, to descant on the Indictment, or rather to exclaim against the Prisoner: (A method which ever was, and ever will be made use of in Proceedings for the Crown, since, if we may believe so wise a Man as Sir *Walter*, *There is no Cause so doubtful, which the King's Council cannot make good against the Law.*) As soon as the general Pleadings were over, Sir *Walter* informed Mr. Attorney, That His Words could not condemn him; but if they could prove one of the Things, wherewith they had charg'd him, he would confess the whole Indictment: That he did not hear that they had spoken one Word against him; and if my Lord *Cobham* was a Traitor, what was that to him? Mr. Attorney reply'd, That whatever my Lord *Cobham* had done, was by *Raleigh's* Instigation: And then for Proof proceeded to read his Examination; in which he confess'd, That he had a Passport to go to the *Spanish* King, intending to go to the *Arch-Duke* to confer with him about these Practices, and because he knew he had not Money to pay his own Army, from thence he meant to go to *Spain*, to deal with the King for 600000 Crowns, and to return by *Fersey*; and that nothing should be done, until he had spoken with Sir *Walter Raleigh* for distribution of the Money to those who were discontented in *England*: and that he had never entred into these Courses, but by his Instigation, and that he would never let him alone.

Sir *Walter* here made a strong and ample Defence to the Matters suggested against him by *Cobham's* Examination; which Defence, because pathetick, as well as pertinent to the whole Cause, I have thought proper to transcribe at its full Length. After having call'd for a sight of the Examination, This (*said He*) is all the Evidence can be brought against me: Poor Shifts! You, Gentlemen of the Jury, I pray you understand this. This is that which must either condemn, or give me Life; which

must free me, or send my Wife and Children to beg their Bread about the Streets: This is that must prove me a notorious Traitor, or a true Subject to the King. I never saw this Examination before. At my first Examination by my Lords at *Windsor*, what I knew of *Cobham's* Practice with *Aremberg*, I answer'd negatively: and as concerning *Arabella*, I protest before God, I never heard one word of it. If that be prov'd, let me be guilty of a thousand Treasons. It is a strange Thing you will impute that to me, when I never heard so much as the Name of *Arabella Stuart*, but only the Name of *Arabella*. After being examin'd, I told my Lords, That I thought my Lord *Cobham* had Conference with *Aremberg*, I suspected his visiting him: For after he departed from me at *Durham-House*, by his own Stairs, and passed over to *St. Mary Saviour's*; I knew *Lawreny* a Merchant, and a Follower of *Aremberg*, and therefore likely to go unto him. My Lord *Cecil* ask'd my Opinion concerning *Lawreny*: I said, That if you do not apprehend *Lawreny*, it is dangerous, he will fly; if you do apprehend him, you shall give my Lord *Cobham* notice thereof. I was ask'd likewise, who was the greatest Man with my Lord *Cobham*? I answered, I knew no Man so great with him, as young *Wyat* of *Kent*. As soon as *Cobham* saw my Letter to have discover'd his Dealing with *Aremberg*, in his Fury he accus'd me; but before he came to the Stair-foot he repented him, and said, he had done me Wrong. When he came to the end of his Accusation, he added, That if he had brought this Money to *Fersey*, I would have deliver'd him to the King. Mr. *Attorney*, you said, this never came out of *Cobham's* Quiver: He is a simple Man. Is he so simple? No: He hath Dispositions of his own, he will not easily be guided by others, but when he has once taken head in a matter, he is not easily drawn from it; he is no Babe. It is strange for me to devise with *Cobham*, that he should go to *Spain*, to perswade the King to disburse so much Money, he being a Man of no Love in *England*, and I having resign'd my Room of chiefest Command, the Wardenship of the *Scanneries*. It is strange for me to make my self *Robin Hood*, or a *Kett*, or a *Cade*; I knowing *England* to

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to be in better Estate than ever it was. I knew *Scotland* united, *Ireland* quieted, *Denmark* assured, which before was suspected. I knew, that having a Lady whom Time had surpriz'd, we had now a lawful Successor. The State of *Spain* was not unknown to me; I had written a Discourse, which I had intended to present unto the King, against Peace with *Spain*. I knew the *Spaniard* had six Repulses; three in *Ireland*, and three at Sea; and once in 1588 at *Cales*, by my Lord Admiral. I knew he was discourag'd, and dishonour'd. I knew the King of *Spain* to be the proudest Prince living; but now he cometh creeping to the King, my Master, for Peace. I knew, whereas before he had in his Ports six or seven Score Sail of Ships, he hath now but six or seven. I knew of twenty five Millions he had from his *Indies*, he hath scarce one left. I knew him so poor, that the *Jesuits* in *Spain* were feign to beg at the Church Door. Was it ever read or heard, that any Prince should disburse so much Money, without a sufficient Pawn? I knew her own Subjects, the Citizens of *London*, would not lend her Majesty Money without Lands in Mortgage. I knew the Queen did not lend the *States* Money without *Flushing*, *Brill*, and other Towns for a Pawn. And can it be thought he would let *Cobham* have so great a Sum! I never came to the Lord *Cobham's*, but about Matters of his Profit; as the Ordering his House, Paying of his Servants Boardwages, &c. I had of his, when I was examin'd, four thousand Pounds worth of Jewels for a Purchase; a Pearl of three thousand Pounds, and a Ring worth five hundred Pounds. If he had had a Fancy to run away, he would not have left so much to have purchas'd a Lease in Fee-farm. I saw him buy three hundred Pounds worth of Books, to send to his Library at *Canterbury*, and a Cabinet of three hundred Pounds to give to Mr. *Attorney* for drawing the Conveyance; and God of Heaven knoweth, not I, whether he intended to travel. But for that Practise with *Arabella*, or Letters to *Aremberg*, or any Discourse with him, or in what Language he spake unto him, if I knew any of these things, I would absolutely confess the Indictment, and acknowledge my self worthy of a thousand Deaths.

Sir

Sir *Walter* further urg'd strenuously to the Court, that *Cobham's* Examination, which he had refus'd to subscribe, was at best but a Circumstance against him; and an Accusation which the Accuser himself had forsworn; and therefore was vehement that *Cobham* might appear, and personally accule him. Mr. *Attorney*, to the first Point, reply'd, That the Accusation being testified to the Lords, was of as great Force, as if he had subscrib'd it; and the Judges would in no wise hearken to *Cobham's* being brought to justify his Examination, for so a Number of Treasons might flourish; that the Accuser might be drawn by Practise, while he was in Person; that such a Gap must not be open'd for the Destruction of the King: That my Lord *Cobham* might possibly have been labour'd with, and to save Sir *Walter*, his old Friend, might deny all that he had said on his Examination.

The Lord *Cecil*, who subtly insinuated that he was in great Dispute with himself to speak in the Case of Sir *Walter*, for that a former Dearness between them had tied so firm a Knot of his Conceit of his Virtues, was afterwards so busy in opposing Sir *Walter's* Demands to the Court, that he thought fit to apologize for himself, and was afraid his often Speech would make the World think, he delighted to hear himself talk: but that Sir *Walter* knew by the Law of the Realm, my Lord *Cobham* could not be brought: that if he had retracted part of his Examination, many particulars were not retracted, and the Validity of all must be left to the Jury. Sir *Walter* still insisted that the Proceedings against him must be *secundum allegata & probata*; and he appeal'd to God and the King, whether *Cobham's* Accusation could be sufficient to condemn him: After this he pull'd out a Letter of Justification written to him from *Cobham*, which he desir'd the Lord *Cecil* to read, because he knew his Hand. The Effect of which Letter was as follows, " Seeing my self so near my End, for the Discharge of my own Conscience, and freeing my self from your Blood, which else will cry Vengeance against me; I protest upon my Salvation, I never practis'd with

Spain

Spain by your Procurement. God so comfort me in this my Affliction, as you are a true Subject for any thing that I know: I will say as *Daniel*, *Purus sum a sanguine hujus*: So God have Mercy on my Soul, as "I know no Treason by you."

This, or whatever *Raleigh* could alledge, was of no Weight with the Jury to stave off his Condemnation; the Judges and the King's Counsel did what they could to haul him out of his Life, and since, as an Author says in his Life, they wanted Proof, they would endeavour to tire him out. Sir *Walter* finding Opposition in vain, concluded with but a short Address to the Jury, telling them that Presumptions must proceed from precedent, or subsequent Facts: that he had spent 40000 Crowns against the *Spaniard*: that he had not purchas'd 40 Pounds a Year, and if he had died in *Guiana*, he had not left 300 Marks a Year to his Wife and Son: that if they would be contented on Presumptions delivered, to be slaughter'd, to have their Wives and Children turned into the Streets to beg their Bread, if they would be contented to be so judged, to judge so of him.

The Jury however brought him in Guilty, and Sentence of Death was pass'd upon him; but he was left to his Majesty's Mercy, and remanded back to the Tower, where he remain'd a Prisoner above 12 Years, but was permitted to enjoy that Freedom which is call'd *Libera Custodia*. Whether the King sent some secretly, (Sir *Anthony Welden* says,) to *Winchester* to observe all Passages, upon whose true and faithful Relations of that Innocency of the Persons arraign'd, and slight Proof upon which they were condemned, he would not be drawn to sign any Warrant for the Execution of *Raleigh*, *Cobham*, and *Grey*.

For *Raleigh's* Defence (says the same Author, a Courtier of those Times;) it was so brave and just, as (had he not willfully cast himself, out of very weariness, as unwilling to detain the Company longer;) no Jury could ever have cast him: All the Evidence brought against

against him was *Cobham's* Accusation; which he only defied might appear (*viva voce*) and he would yield without further Defence; but that they knew full well *Cobham* would not, nor could not accuse him, having been tamper'd with by *Wade*, then Lieutenant of the Tower, and *Salisbury's* great Creature: *Wade*, desired it under his Hand. That also he refus'd: at last *Wade* got a Trick by his Cunning, to surprize *Cobham's* Weakness, to get him to write his Name to a Blank, to which *Wade*, no question, wrote the Accusation, as will appear hereafter: for *Salisbury* urging *Raleigh* often, if *Cobham* had accused him under his Hand, would he then yield? *Raleigh* replied, He knew *Cobham* weak of Judgment, and did not know how that weakness might be wrought upon, but was confident he would not to his Face accuse him, and therefore would not put his Life, Fortune, and all on That; at which Fence he stood till Nine at Night; at last his Fate carried him against his Reason, and he yielded upon the producing *Cobham's* Hand, which was instantly pulled out, and was in truth his Hand, but not his Act or Deed.

Posterity, in one Respect, are bound to thank King *James* for that inestimable Treasure, which probably had never been compil'd or transmitted down to us, had not Sir *Walter* been made a Prisoner, and taken off from Action and publick Employments. For during his Confinement in the Tower, (to transcribe the Character another Author has given it,) he was deliver'd of that great *Minerva*, the *HISTORY of the WORLD*; a Book, which for the Exactness of its Chronology, Curiousness of its Contexture and Learning of all Sorts, seems to be the Work of an Age. An History, which never yet met with a Detractor, and was the Envy, if some Authors are to be credited, of King *James* himself, who thought none could out-do him at the Pen. That a Man, who had been the greatest Part of his Life taken up in Action, should write so judiciously, so critically of Times and Actions, is as great a Wonder as the Book itself.

Tradition has been very current, I think, on very little Probability, that Sir *Walter* had design'd and finish'd a

Second

Second Part to his Great History. The Story is thus; That some few Days before he suffer'd, he sent for the Bookseller that had printed his First Volume, and taking him by the Hand, after other Discourse, ask'd him, *How the Book had sold?* To which the Bookseller answer'd, *It sold so slowly, that it had undone him.* Sir Walter hereupon, stepping to his Desk, reach'd the unprinted Part of his History, which he had brought down to his own Times, and clapping his Hand on his Breast, said, with a Sigh, *Alas my Friend, has the First Part undone thee? the Second Part shall undo no more: This ungrateful World is unworthy of it.* He said no more, but, immediately stepping to his Fire, threw it in, and set his Foot on it till it was consum'd.

For my own part, I have too great an Opinion of Sir Walter's Wisdom, to suppose he would so rashly have rob'd his Executors of such a Treasure; upon a single Person's complaining of Loss from the ill Sale of the first Volume. It seems a Fable copy'd out of another concerning Virgil, who would have burn'd his *Aeneis*, to which he had not put the last hand, lest it should survive to the Injury of his Reputation. I think besides, there is no better way of interpreting for an Author than from his own Words. Sir Walter Raleigh, in the Conclusion of his *Promission to Princes*, speaking of his History, and the Method he had pursued in it, *It was for the Service*, says he, of *that inestimable Prince Henry, the successive Hope, and one of the greatest of the Christian World, that I undertook this Work: And it pleas'd him to peruse part thereof, and to pardon what was amiss. It is now left to the World without a Master, from which all that is presented to it, receiveth both Blows and Thanks: For we approve and reprehend the same things, &c.* I do therefore forbear to stile my Readers gentle, courteous, and friendly, so to beg their good Opinions: Or promise a Second and Third Volume (which I intended) if the First receive a good Acceptance. For that which is already done, may be thought enough, and too much: and let us claw the Reader with never so many courteous Phrases, yet we shall ever be thought Fools that write foolishly. If this be not a Proof conclu-

five enough to determine that he was resolv'd to publish no Second Volume, it will yet receive a Confirmation from the last Paragraph that shuts up his History. *Lastly, Whereas this Book, by the Title it hath, calls itself the First Part of the General History of the World, implying a Second and Third Volume, which I also intended and have shewn out, besides many other Discouragements perswading my Silence, it hath pleas'd God to take that glorious Prince out of the World, to whom they were directed, whose unspeakable and never enough lamented Loss hath taught me to say with Job, Versa est in Luctum Cithara mea, & Organum meum in Vocem Flentium.*

But to return from this Digression to Matters of more Certainty : While Sir *Walter* remained a Prisoner in the Tower (under the Jealousie, rather than Justice, of King *James*, says Sir *Francis Osborne*, who did so far participate of the Humour of a pusillanimous Prince, as to pardon any sooner than those injur'd by himself) a fatal Incident, promoted by himself, and turned against him by his Enemies, seem'd to confirm an Opinion of that Treason, which arose but to a bare Suspicion before, even with those who owed him the least Kindness.

Queen *Anne*, at that time, was seiz'd with a desperate, and, as it was fear'd, incurable Disease, whereof the Physicians were at the end of their Study to find the Cause, and at a greater Nonplus for the Cure. Sir *Walter*, being by his long Studies an admirable Chymist, undertook, says *Welden*, and perform'd the Cure. An Action that might at once have wip'd off all Aspersions, secured him a Pardon, and reconcil'd him to the Royal Favour! But Sir *Walter*, obstinate to have his wounded Honour cur'd, would receive no other Reward for this Service, than that her Majesty should procure certain Lords to be sent, who should examine *Cobham*, Whether he had accus'd Sir *Walter Raleigh* of Treason at any time under his Hand.

The King, at the Queen's Request, (and in Justice he could do no less) sends six Lords, of whom *Salisbury* was one,

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one, to demand of Cobham, Whether he had not under his hand accus'd Sir *Walter Raleigh* at *Winchester*, upon that Treason for which he was there arraign'd? Cobham did protest, he never had, nor could he: But, said He, That Villain *Wade* did often sollicit me, and, not prevailing, for me, by a Trick, to write my Name upon a piece of white Paper; which I, thinking nothing, did; so that if any Charge came under my hand, it was forged by that Villain *Wade*, by writing something above my hand, without my Consent or Knowledge. The Six Lords, returning to the King, made *Salisbury* their Spoke-man, who told him, my Lord Cobham had made good all that ever he wrote or said. This indeed was an equivocating Trick, for, it was true, he made good whatever he wrote, but he never wrote any thing to accuse *Raleigh*.

Statesmen, once oppos'd in the Course of their Politicks, seldom or never forgive the Persons opposing; and though the Injury may sleep under Smiles and Court-Behaviour, the smother'd Fire will take its Time to break out to their Destruction: Sir *Walter*, as *Osborne* tells us, had formerly disobligh'd *Salisbury* (then Sir *Robert Cecil*) by Obstructing, to the farthest Extent of his Power, a Peace which, by *Salisbury's* Mediation, working with the *Spanish* Ambassador, was propounded at the very Close of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign.

Upon the King's Accession, Malice was industrious to ruin *Raleigh* in his Opinion, and by supplanting, to work him up to Discontent. The Conspiracy, which was laid on him, put on such a Face, says *Wilson*, that few or none could discover, or know what to make of it. That the muddy Waters were stirr'd, was apparent, but it was with such a Mixture, that little could be visible in it.

If we may believe *Welden*, Sir *Walter*, and most of his Party, were discontented to see that *Salisbury*, their old Friend, should trample on, neglect and contemn them, who before had been his chief Supporters, and ever of his Faction: But it was then believ'd an errant Trick of State to overthrow some, and disable others,

knowing their strong Abilities might otherwise live to overthrow Salisbury; for they were intimate in all his secret Counsels for the Ruin of Essex, especially Raleigh, Grey, and Cobham. Tho' the latter was a Tool, yet had he been very useful to them, as the Tool in the hand of the Workman. To have singled out These without some Priests, who were Traitors by the Law, had smelt too rank, and appear'd too poor and plain a Trick of State: And Salisbury, in This, had a double Benefit; first, in ridding himself of such as he fear'd would have been Thorns in his Side; secondly, by indearing himself to the King, by shewing his Diligence and Vigilance for his Safety: So that it might be said of him as of Caesar in another Case, *inveniam aut faciam*, I will either find out a Treason, or make one. Besides, the Spaniard was so powerful at that time at Court, as That Faction could command the Life of any Man who might prove dangerous to their Designs: And it was thought one of the greatest Master-pieces of Gondamoro to purchase Raleigh's Head, who had done their State such singular Mischief, and with whom (as Cato of old us'd to say, *Delenda est Carthago*): It was a constant Maxim, That Spain was to be humbled: But above all, says Osborne, of so incomparable a Dexterity in his Judgment was Sir Walter, that the Treasurer Salisbury, (who had already by an universal Compliance with the King and his Countrymen, purchas'd the Monopoly of his Favour) grew jealous of his excellent Parts, least he should supplant him.

But still, as strong as Salisbury's Odium was to Sir Walter, and as active and subtle an Instrument as Gondamoro was in his Master's Service, the Execution of Raleigh was not to be extorted from the King, who in many things, as Welden says, was over-aw'd by his timorous Disposition.

Raleigh, whose Mind labour'd under nothing more than the Tedioufness of his Confinement, neglected no Intercessions for his Enlargement. Prince Henry, while living, had been extream curious in searching out the Nature of his Offences: the Queen had inform'd herself from

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from the Beginning; and the King of Denmark at both times of his being in England was thoroughly satisfied of his Innocency; and they all mov'd his Majesty on his Behalf. The Wife, the Brother, and the Son of a King, as he justly observes, do not use to sue for Persons suspected. His thoughts were now centred on a new Enterprize of discovering Golden Mines in Guiana: What he knew of the Riches of that Place was from his own View, and not Hearsay; but the Persons most in Trust at Court, were resolv'd not to believe it, nor because they doubted the Truth, but because they doubted his Disposition towards themselves. He makes his Propositions to Sir Ralph Winwood Secretary of State, desiring him to recommend them to his Majesty; It is true, Sir, says He, in his Letter to the Secretary: That his Majesty has, sometimes answer'd, his Council knew me better than he did; meaning some two or three of them: and it was indeed my Infelicity; for had his Majesty known me, I had never been here where I now am: or had I known his Majesty, they had never been so long there where they now are. His Majesty not knowing of me hath been my Ruin: and his Majesty, misknowing of them, hath been the Ruin of a goodly Part of his Estate: but they are all of them now, some living and some dying, come to his Majesty's Knowledge. But, Sir, how little soever his Majesty knew me, and how much soever he believ'd them, yet have I been bound to his Majesty both for my Life, and all that remains, of which, but for his Majesty, nor Life, nor ought else had remain'd. In this Respect, Sir, I am bound to yield up the same Life, and all I have for his Majesty's Service: To dye for the King, and not by the King, is all the Ambition I have in the World.

The Secretary was so just as to represent Sir Walter's Propositions to the King; and the King, who, as Coke informs us, had before stop'd his Ears to Sir Walter's Advice concerning the Dutch Fishery upon the Coasts of England and Scotland, now opens them to his American Project; and looking on Raleigh as a Man, whose Abilities might better the Nation, if improved the right way, gave him Liberty and a Commission under the Privy-

Privy-Seal, to equip and set forth Ships and Men for that Service.

His Reputation and Merit brought many Gentlemen of Quality to venture their Estates; and Persons, upon the Design: and being gallantly furnish'd with all things necessary, in the Month of *August* 1617, they set out for *Guiana*.

But this Commission granted to *Sir Walter*, it seems, but ill agreed with the Treaty made between the King in the 2d Year of his Reign, and the most renowned *Spanish* Monarch: wherein, in the first Article, it was agreed, that they should use one another with all kind and friendly Offices: and by this Treaty the *English* were restrain'd to their *European* Trade, the King of *Spain* being as jealous of his *West-Indies*, as other Kings of their Prerogatives.

The Fame of *Sir Walter*, and the Expectations of the Mountains of Gold to be pour'd into the Exchequer by this Expedition, blaz'd it every where Abroad. King *James*, unwilling to disoblige his Brother of *Spain*, commanded *Sir Walter Raleigh* upon his Allegiance, before he went out, to set down under his Hand the Country, and the River, which he was to enter, the compleat Number of his Men, the Burthen of his Ships, and what Ordinance every Ship carried. This being made known to the Count *Gondamore*, the *Spanish* Ambassador here, and by him in Post to the King of *Spain*, a Dispatch was made by that King to the *Indies*, and his Letters sent from *Madrid*, before *Sir Walter Raleigh*, with his Fleet, departed out of the River *Thames*.

To this Practise *Sir Walter* was no Stranger, and yet it deterr'd him not from the propos'd Expedition: After a Stress of Weather, and Distress of Sicknes he arrives at *Guiana*, from whence, still sanguine in what he had promis'd from the Voyage, he writes to his Wife, and tells her, he hop'd to perform what they had undertaken, if the diligent Care at *London* to make their

Strength

Strength known to the Spanish King by his Ambassador had not taught the Spanish King to fortify all the Entrances against them. However, says He, we must make the Adventure, and if we perish, it shall be no Honour for England, nor Gain for his Majesty to lose, among many others, an Hundred as valiant Gentlemen as England has in it.

It was bruited before his Departure from the Channel by some that lov'd him little, that he meant nothing less than to go to *Guiana*; but that being once at Liberty and in his own Power, having made his way with some Foreign Prince, he would turn Pirate, and utterly forsake his own Country. Nor did *Gondamore* himself believe that a Voyage thither was intended, for he had said to Secretary *Winwood* and several of the Lords, that if Sir *Walter* meant indeed to sail to *Guiana*, and had no Intent to invade any part of his Master's *West-Indies*, nor his Fleets, he should not need to strengthen himself as he did; for he should work his Mine there without Disturbance, and in Peace.

For the Particulars at length of this his last unhappy Voyage, I must refer the Readers to that excellent *Apology*, which he has left drawn up by his own Pen; and only here recount the main Actions, which were afterwards made Aggravations to destroy him. Sir *Walter*, now in an advanc'd old Age, having struggled with a long Sickness, and being yet unable to move otherwise than in a Chair, order'd Five small Ships to sail up the River *Orinoque*, under the Conduct of Captain *Kemish*, towards the Mine of which he had inform'd Sir *Walter* in England. As they pass'd up the River, the Spaniards began the War, and fired at the English Ships with great and small Shot: Yet still they landed their Forces, without much Loss, near the Town call'd *St. Thomas*, of which with little Difficulty they made themselves Masters, and burnt it, but with the Death of Captain *Raleigh*, Sir *Walter*'s Son, to the great Grief of the Assailants. The Father's Concern was so vehement for this Loss, that he could willingly have died Heart-broken,

broken, as he sent his Wife Word, did he not contend against Sorrow for her Sake, in hope to provide something for her, and to comfort and relieve her. Tho' the Spaniards were not strong enough to defend the Town, yet they were sufficiently prepar'd to secure the Mine: so that Captain Kemish finding it impracticable to get up to it by Water, and the Avenues by Land so well guarded, he thought the Enterprize too hazardous, and with deep Sorrow return'd.

Sir Walter Raleigh, with the News of his Son's unhappy Death, and the fruitless Return of Kemish, was touch'd to the very Soul, crying out to Kemish, That he had utterly ruin'd him, and wounded his Credit with the King, beyond Recovery; but he, who was the first Mover of the Design, must expect to bear the Weight of the King's Anger as well as himself.

Kemish, as deeply tormented as himself, and less able to sustain the Burthen, retir'd to his Cabin overwhelmed with Melancholy, and shot himself; but the Bullet only breaking a Rib, which was too slow for his Fury, he desperately thrust a Knife in his Heart up to the Hilt, and with him the Glory of the whole Voyage expired. For the Design being thus discover'd and broken, their Ships being leaky, Provisions failing, and the Men missing the Golden Showers they expected, several of them began to mutiny, some would return home, and the Major Part forc'd Sir Walter to swear not to go home without their Allowance. Then some would go for Italy, some for France, and a few for England, fearing the Spanish Power there more than they did in the Indies: and thus being shatter'd in Judgment, with greater Storms than the Seas and Winds had produc'd, Sir Walter at length arriv'd with Four Ships at King'sale in Ireland, where he staid for some short Space in Safety.

The News of raking and burning St. Thomas coming to Gondamore, he besieges, and as it were assaults King James with Importunity for Reparation. For he was a Man (says Wilson, not only of an insinuating and

gloving

gloſing Spirit, but of a violent and fiery Temper, when
 ſome Accident blew up the Humour. The Matter
 aggravated with the higheſt Circumſtances by thoſe
 of the *Spaniſh* Faction, as if this Irruption of *Raleigh's*
 Mine: nor only tended to the Breach of the Treaty of Mar-
 riage betwixt Prince *Charles* and the *Infanta* of *Spain*,
 which was then in Motion, but to the Infringement of
 the Peace and Amity, eſtabliſh'd betwixt the Two
 Crowns. The King's Fears being heighten'd to Anger,
 he diſavows the Action; and leaſt Others of his Sub-
 jects ſhould by this Example take the Boldneſs to at-
 tempt the like Hoſtility againſt the King of *Spain*, he
 puts out a Proclamation, in which he ſhews his Deteſta-
 tion of ſuch Proceedings, and threatens ſevere Punish-
 ment to the Enterpriſers, thereby to deter them.

This gave *Gondamore* ſome Satisfaction, who, his Deſ-
 ign being only to get Sir *Walter Raleigh* home, after this
 Bruſh vented little Paſſion, but ſo cunningly ſkin'd over
 his Malice, that when *Raleigh* was in *Ireland*, he ſound,
 nor heard of no ſuch great Difficulties, Dangers of-
 ten flying upon the Wings of Rumour, but that he might
 appear in *England*: So the Men, not willing to be ba-
 niſh'd their own Country, tho' ſome of them had France
 in their Eye, put in at *Plymouth*.

Raleigh was no ſooner aſhore, but he had private Inti-
 mation which gave him cauſe to ſuſpect, the ſmoothneſs
 of this Beginning would have a rough End; therefore
 he attempted an Eſcape from thence in a Bark to *Rocheſter*.
 But being apprehended by Sir *Lewis Stukely*, his Kinf-
 man, who had private Warrant and Inſtructions to that
 purpoſe, ſo unnatural and ſervile is the Spirit, when it
 hath an allay of Baſeneſs, he is brought to *London*, and
 committed to the Tower.

He was no ſooner in the Tower, but all his Tranſ-
 actions in this Buſineſs are put to the Rack, and tenter'd
 by his Adverſaries. They ſay now he knew of no
 Mine, nor did *Kemiſh* know that the Mine he aim'd at
 was Gold: but *Kemiſh* bringing him a Piece of Ore into
 the Tower, he ſobb'd a piece of Gold into it in diſſol-

ving, making the poor Man believe the Ore was right, that by these golden Degrees he might ascend to Liberty, promising the King to fetch it from where the Spaniards never had been : That when Kemish found by better Experience he was cozen'd by Raleigh, he came back from the Mine : And that Raleigh knowing none but Kemish could accuse him, made him away. This Vizard was put upon the Face of the Action, and all the Weight of the Miscarriage was laid upon Raleigh's Shoulders.

Gondamore, that look'd upon him as a Man that had not only high Abilities, but Ahimosity enough to do his Master mischief, (being one of those Scourges, which that old Virago, (Queen Elizabeth) as he call'd her, used to afflict the Spaniards with) having gotten him into this Trap, laid now his Bait about the King.

The King took great Delight in the Company and Conversation of Gondamore ; a Person, as *Nem* observes, who with a stupendious Acuteness of Wit, so confounded pleasant Things with Serious, that it was not easie to be discern'd when he rallied, or when he spoke of Business. He knew how to insinuate and transform himself to the King's own way and Humour ; was full of Conceits, Jest, and wirry Sayings, and would sometimes speak false *Latin* purposely to please the King, telling him, That his Majesty spoke *Latin* like a Pedant, but himself like a Gentleman.

All Complexions and Natures (as Sir Francis Osborne has curiously remark'd) are not competent for to be employ'd as Ambassadors ; some lying at too open a Guard in their Discourse ; a Fault incident to free People, and Persons not bred under Restraint : Others, of a Faculty retentive enough in relation to Taciturnity, are not able to keep the Intentions of their Hearts from flying into their Looks, which, by the way, a publick Minister is to regard more than Words ; Masters of their Tongues being not seldom betray'd to a full Discovery by their Blood ; which the Shame of Lying, or some one Passion or other

pumps up, for want, it may be, of an *Impudence*, which None, but those wickedly bred from their Cradle, are capable of. A good Reason why *swarthy Persons*, and People bordering upon the Sun, are more apt for *Negotiations* than the *ruddy English*; fam'd for *fine Force*, rather than *Circumvention*, the Business of an Ambassador.

Gondamore, who ever proceeded upon Observation, found out, and so reported to his Countrymen, that King *James's* most intricate Desires were legible in his Countenance. Wherefore his Manner was, first to disturb his Passions, and after to appease them by some facetious Drollery, before he embarked himself in what he intended to make the Employment of the present Audience: And he was in all Companies, as well as the King's, inclinable more to Mirth, than Melancholly; chusing rather to conceal, than demonstrate, the Wisdom and Arts by which he brought about his Master's Designs, no less to the Shame of the *English*, than the Honour of his own Dexterity. In short, no stubborn Piece of either Sex stood in *Gondamore's* way, but he had an Engine to remove them, or scruce them up to him.

A Match betwixt the Prince of *Wales* and the *Infanta* of *Spain* having long been propos'd by the Duke of *Lerma* Abroad, and negotiated by *Gondamore* here at Home; he wrought himself so by Subtlety into the King's good Affections, that he did not only work his own Will, but the King's into a Belief that the Treaties in Agitation for that Marriage were, tho' slowly prosecuted, real and effectual. The *Spaniards* made shew, that, on their Part, nothing under Heaven was more desired than this Alliance; and the King of *Spain* commanded that his Treasure should be gather'd together for the *Infanta's* vast Portion, being no less than 2 Millions. If this Match then were to go on, and Amity with the *Spaniard* to be maintained and Courtied, *Gondamore* could not wish a fairer Opportunity vigorously to demand the Head of *Ra-* for an Assault made by him on his Master's *Indies*; a Head of more Weight to our Court, says *Osborne*, (especially in that Dearth of Wisdom than raging) than the *Infanta*

Infanta could be. But as the foolish Idolaters were wont to sacrifice the choicest of their Children to the Devil, the common Enemy of Humanity; so our King gave up this incomparable Jewel to the Will of this Monster in Ambition, under the Pretence of a superannuated Transgression. Contrary to the Opinion of the most honest sort of Gown-Men, who maintained, that his Majesty's Pardon lay inclusively in the Commission he gave him upon his setting out to Sea; it being incongruous, that he, who remain'd under the Notion of one *Dead in Law*, should, as a General dispose of the Lives of Others, not being himself Master of his own.

Raleigh, tho' confined with more Severity than before, was not insensible how closely his Life was pursued, and how little Expectations he could found of Mercy: He consider'd, however, that Stubbornness and Obstinacy might be laid to his Charge, if he made no sort of Submission to his Majesty, or at least justified the Honesty of his Intentions, tho' his Voyage had so fatally miscarried: He therefore penn'd the following Letter of Apology, which he got convey'd to the King's own Hands.

May it please your most Excellent MAJESTY,

IF, in my Journey outward bound, I had my Men murder'd at the Islands, and yet spar'd to take Revenge; if I did discharge some *Spanish* Barks taken without Spoil; if I forbore all parts of the *Spanish* Indies, wherein I might have taken twenty of their Towns on the Sea-Coasts, and did only follow the Enterprize I undertook for *Guiana*, where, without any Directions from me, a *Spanish* Village was burnt, which was set up within 2 Miles of the Mine, by your Majesty's Favour, I find no Reason why the *Spanish* Ambassador should complain of me. If it were lawful for the *Spaniards* to murder 26 *Englishmen*, tying them Back to Back, and then cutting their Throats, when they had traded with them a whole Month, and came to them on the Land without so much as one Sword; and that it may not be lawful to your Majesty's Sub-

jects, being charg'd first by them, to repell Force by Force; we may justly say, O miserable *English*!

* If *Parker* and *Metham* took *Campeachy* and other Places in the *Honduras*, seated in the Heart of the *Spanish Indies*, burnt Towns, and kill'd the *Spaniards*, and had nothing said to them at their Return; and my self forbore to look into the *Indies*, because I would not offend, I may as justly say, O miserable Sir *Walter Raleigh*!

* If I have spent my poor Estate, lost my Son, suffer'd by Sickness, and otherwise, a world of Miseries; if I have resisted, with manifest Hazard of my Life, the Robberies and Spoils, with which my Companions would have made me rich; if, when I was poor, I could have made my self rich; if, when I had gotten my Liberty, which all Men, and Nature it self do much prize, I voluntarily lost it; if, when I was sure of my Life, I render'd it again; if I might elsewhere have sold my Ship and Goods, and put five or six thousand Pounds in my Purse, and yet brought her into *England*; I beseech your Majesty to believe that all This I have done, because it should not be said to your Majesty, that your Majesty had given Liberty and Trust to a Man, whose End was but the Recovery of his Liberty, and who had betray'd your Majesty's Trust.

* My Mutineers told me, That if I return'd for *England*, I should be undone; but I believ'd in your Majesty's Goodness more than in all their Arguments. Sure I am the first that, being free and able to enrich my self, yet have embraced Poverty and Peril. And as sure I am, that my Example shall make me the Last. But your Majesty's Wisdom and Goodness I have made my Judges, who have ever been, and shall ever be,

Your Majesty's most humble Vassal,

Walter Raleigh.

What:

Whatever private Judgment the King might make in favour of *Raleigh*, he made no Efforts to arrest the Prosecution against him. It was resolv'd, that Sir *Walter's* Misfortunes should lose him his Head, but how to do it with a face of Justice was the Question. That he fell a Sacrifice to the *Spanish* Faction, has scarce ever been doubted by Persons of Discernment; and a great Minister, who was empower'd from the King to let the *Spaniards* know what Testimonies he gave of his sincere Intentions towards them, has in a Letter to Mr. *Cotton*, then our Agent there, put this Opinion in a very clear Light. "Further, you may let them know," says He, how able a Man Sir *Walter Raleigh* was to have done his Majesty Service, if he should have been pleas'd to employ him; yet to give them Content, he hath not spared him; when, by preserving him, he might have given great Satisfaction to his Subjects, and had at Command, upon all Occasions, as useful a Man as served any Prince in *Christendom*.

Upon the 28th Day of October 1618. Sir *Walter* was brought up to the King's Bench-Bar in *Westminster*, where the Records of his Arraignment at *Winchester* were open'd, and he demanded why Execution should not be done upon him, according to the Judgment therein pronounc'd against him? *Raleigh*, by way of Answer, began to justify himself in the Proceedings of the late Voyage: but the Lord Chief-Justice wish'd him to spare that Trouble, for there was no other Matter in Question but the former Judgment, which the King would have executed upon him, for some Occasions best known to himself, unless he could shew good Cause to the Contrary,

Sir *Walter* answer'd, that he was told by his Council, That Judgment was void by the Commission his Majesty was pleas'd to give him since under the Great-Seal for his last Employment, which gave him a new Vigour and Life to that Service. The Lord Chief-Justice reply'd, that He was deceiv'd; and that the Opinion of the Court was to the Contrary. Sir *Walter* then desired that

that some reasonable Time might be allowed him to prepare for Death: but it was answer'd, That the Time appointed was the next Morning: and it was not to be doubted, but he had prepared himself for Death since. You have been a General, said the Lord Chief-Justice, and a great Commander, imitate therefore that Noble Captain, who thrusting himself into the Middle of a Battle, cry'd aloud, *Mori me expectat*, & *Ego Mortem expectabo*. As you should not contemn, so neither should you fear Death: the one sheweth too much Boldness, and the other no less Cowardise. With some few more Instructions the Court was broke up; and Raleigh having a Courageous Spirit (finding the Bent of the King's Mind, and knowing Disputes to be in vain where Controversies are determin'd) acquiesc'd, and was by the Sheriff convey'd to the Gate-house, in Order to his suffering in the Old Palace-Yard the Morning following. Such a tender Concern for the Afflictions of his Wife hung on his Heart to the last, that, in the dead and silent Hours of the Night, before he had quite retir'd himself from the Affairs of the World, he took his Farewel of her in the following Epistle.

*Sir Walter Raleigh's Letter to his Wife after
Condemnation.*

YOU shall receive (my Dear Wife) my last Words in these my last Lines; my Love I send you, that you may keep when I am Dead, and my Counsel, that you may remember it when I am no more. I would not with my Will present you Sorrows (Dear *Bess*) let them go to the Grave with me, and be buried in the Dust. And seeing that it is not the Will of God that I shall see you any more, bear my Destruction patiently, and with a Heart like your self.

First, 'I send you all the Thanks which my Heart can Conceive, or my Words Express, for your many Travels and Cares for me; which tho' they have not taken

• taken Effect as you wished, yet my Debt to you is
• not the less; but pay it I never shall in this World.

• Secondly, I beseech you, for the Love you bear me
• Living, that you do not hide your self many Days,
• but by your Travels seek to help my Miserable For-
• tunes, and the right of your Poor Child; your Mourn-
• ing cannot avail me, who am but Dust.

• Thirdly, You shall understand, that my Lands were
• convey'd (*bonâ fide*) to my Child; the Writings were
• drawn at *Midsummer* was Twelve Month, as di-
• vers can Witness, and I trust my Blood will quench
• their Malice who desired my Slaughter, that they will
• not seek also to kill you, and yours with extream Po-
• verty. To what Friend to direct you I know not,
• for all mine have left me in the true time of Trial.
• Most sorry am I, that being thus surpriz'd by Death,
• I can leave you no better Estate; God hath prevented
• all my Determinations, that great God which worketh
• all in all, and if you can live free from Want, care for
• no more, for the rest is but Vanity: Love God, and be-
• gin betimes, in him you shall find true, everlasting,
• and endless Comfort; when you have travell'd and
• wearied your self with all sorts of Worldly Cogita-
• tions, you shall sit down by Sorrow in the End. Teach
• your Son also to serve and fear God, whilst he is
• Young, that the Fear of God may grow up in him;
• then will God be an Husband to you, and a Father to
• him, and a Father that can never be taken from you.

• Baylie oweth me a Thousand Pounds, and Aryan Six
• Hundred, in *Ferrey* also I have much owing me. Dear
• Wife, I beseech you, for my Souls Sake pay all poor
• Men. When I am dead, no doubt, you shall be much
• sought unto; for the World thinks I was very Rich
• have a Care to the fair Pretences of Men, for no
• greater Misery can befall you in this Life, than to be-
• come a Prey unto the World, and after to be despised.
• I speak (God knows) not to dissuade you from Mar-
• riage, for it will be best for you, both in respect of
• God

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God and the World. As for me, I am no more yours, nor you mine, Death hath cut us asunder, and God hath divided me from the World, and you from me. Remember your poor Child for his Father's Sake, who loved you in his happiest Estate. I sued for my Life, but (God knows) it was for you, and yours, that I desir'd it: for know it (my Dear Wife) your Child is the Child of a true Man, who in his own respect despiseth Death and his misshapen and ugly Forms. I cannot write much; God knows how hardly I steal this time when all sleep; and it is also time for me to separate my Thoughts from the World. Beg my dead Body, which living was denied you; and either lay it in Sberbourn or in Exeter Church by my Father and Mother. I can say no more, Time, and Death, calleth me away. The Everlasting God, powerful, infinite, and inscrutable God Almighty, who is Goodness itself, the true Light and Life, keep you and yours, and have Mercy upon me, and forgive my Persecutors and false Accusers, and send us to meet in his Glorious Kingdom. My Dear Wife, Farewel; Bless my Boy; Pray for me, and let my true God hold you Both in his Arms.

Yours that was, but

Now not my own,

Walter Raleigh.

The next Day, by Nine in the Morning, to the deep Concern of many worthy Persons, being in the 66th Year of his Age, he was brought to the Scaffold purposely erected in the Palace-Yard in Westminster; where, with a chearful smiling Countenance saluting the Lords, and Gentlemen, and others of his Acquaintance there present, after Proclamation of Silence made, he addressed himself to them in the following manner.

E

I Thank

I Thank God of his infinite Goodness, that he hath sent me to die in the Sight of so honourable and Assembly, and not in Darkness.

As I said, I thank my God heartily, that he hath brought me into the Light to die, and hath not suffered me to die in the dark Prison of the Tower, where I have suffered a great deal of Adversity, and a long Sickness; and I thank God that my Heaven hath not taken me at this time, as I prayed God it might not.

There are two main Points of Suspicion, that his Majesty hath conceived against me, and wherein his Majesty cannot be satisfied, which I desire to clear, and resolve you of.

One is, that his Majesty hath been informed that I have had some Plot with France, and his Majesty had some Reason to induce him thereto: One Reason that his Majesty had to conjecture so, was, that when I came back from Guiana, being come to Plymouth I endeavoured to go to Rochel; which was because I would have fain made my Peace before I came to England. Another Reason was, that, upon my Flight, I did intend to fly to France for saving of my Life, having had some Terrour from above. A third Reason, was the French Agent's coming to me; and it was reported that I had Commission from the King of France.

But this I say, for a Man to call God to witness to a Falshood at any time, is a grievous Sin; and what shall we hope for at the Tribunal Day of Judgment? But to call God to witness to a Falshood at the time of Death, is far more grievous and impious, and there is no Hope for such an one. And what should I expect, that am now going to render an Account of my Faith? I do therefore call the Lord to witness, as I hope to be saved, and as I hope to see him in his

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Kingdom, which I hope will be within this Quarter of this Year; I never had any Commission from the King of France, nor any Treaty with the French Agent, nor with any from the French King; neither knew I that there was an Agent, or what he was, till I met him in my Gallery at my Lodging unlook'd for. If I speak not true, O Lord, let me never come into thy Kingdom.

The second Suspicion was, that his Majesty hath been informed, that I should speak dishonourably, and disloyally of him; but my Accuser was a base Frenchman, a kind of a Chymical Fellow, one whom I knew to be perfidious; for being drawn into this Action at Winchester, in which my Hand was touch'd, and he being sworn to Secrecy over Night, revealed it the next Morning.

' But this I speak now, what have I to do with Kings? I have nothing to do with them, neither do I fear them: I have now to do with God, therefore to tell a Lye now to get the Favour of the King, were in vain: Therefore, as I hope to be saved at the last Day, I never spake dishonourably, disloyally, or dishonestly of the King; neither to this Frenchman, nor to any other; neither had I ever, in all my Life, a Thought of Ill of his Majesty. Therefore I cannot but think it strange, that this Frenchman, being so base, so mean a Fellow, should be so far credited; and so much for this Point. I have dealt truly, and hope I shall be believed: I confess, I did attempt to escape, and I did dissemble and fain my self sick at Salisbury, but I hope it was no Sin. The Prophet David did make himself a Fool, and did suffer Spittle to fall upon his Beard, to escape the Hands of his Enemies, and it was not imputed to him as Sin; and I did it to prolong time till his Majesty came, hoping for some Commiseration from him.

' I forgive this Frenchman, and Sir Lewis Steukly, and have received the Sacrament this Morning of Mr. Dean, and

and do also forgive all the World: But this much I am bound in Charity to speak of this Man, that all Men may take good Heed of him: Sir *Leis. Steukly*, my Kinsman and Keeper, hath affirmed, that I should tell him, that I should tell my Lord *Carew*, and my Lord *Doncaster*, of my present Escape; but I protest, before God, I never told *Steukly* any such thing, neither did I tell my Lord *Carew*, or my Lord *Doncaster*, of my pretended Escape. It was not likely that I should acquaint two Privy Counsellors of my Purpose; neither would I tell him, for he left me 6, 7, 8, 9 or 10 Days to go where I listed, while he rode about the Country.

Again he accused me, that I should tell him, that my Lord *Carew*, and my Lord *Doncaster* would meet me in *France*, which was never my Speech or Thought.

Thirdly, he accused me, that I shew'd him a Letter, and that I should give him 10000 Pounds for my Escape; but cast my Soul into everlasting Fire, if I ever made him offer of 10000 Pounds, or 1000 Pounds, but meerly I shew'd him a Letter, that if he would go with me, his Debrs should be paid when he was gone; neither had I 1000 Pounds; for if I had so much, I could have done better with it, and made my Peace otherways.

Fourthly, When I came to Sir *Edward Pelham*, who had been sometimes a Follower of mine, who gave me good Entertainment; he gave out, that I had received some Dram of Poison in Sir *Edward Pelham's* House; when I answered, I feared no such thing, for I was well assured of them in the House. Now God forgive him, for I do, and I desire God to forgive him; I will not only say God is the God of Revenge; but I desire God to forgive him, as I hope to be forgiven.

Well, thus far have I gone; now a little more, and I will have done by and by.

It was told the King, I was brought by Force into England, and that I did not intend to come again: Whereas Captain Charles Parker, Mr. Tresham, Mr. Leak, and divers others, that knew how I was dealt withal, shall witness for me: For the common Soldiers, which were 150, mutinied, and sent for me to come into the Gun-Room to them, for at that time they would not come to me: and there was I forc'd to take an Oath That I would not come into *England* till they would have me, or else they would cast me into the Sea, and drown me. Afterwards they entred my Cabin, and set themselves against me. After I had taken this Oath, with Wine, and other things, I drew the chiefeft of them to desist, and at length I perswaded them to go into *Ireland*; then would they have gone into the North Parts of *Ireland*: But at last, with much ado, I perswaded them to go into the South Parts; promising to get their Pardons, but was forced to give them 125 Pounds at *King'sale* to bring them Home. Otherwise I had never got from them.

There was a Report that I meant not to go to *Guiana* at all, and that I knew not of any Mine, nor intended any such Matter, but only to get my Liberty, which I had not the Wit to keep. But it was my full Intent to go for Gold, for the Benefit of his Majesty, and those that went with me, with the rest of my Country-men: But he that knew the Head of the Mine would not discover it, when he saw that my Son was slain, but made himself away. My Lord *Arundel*, being in the Gallery in my Ship at my Departure, your Honour took me by the Hand, and said, you would request me one thing, which was, that, Whether I made a good Voyage or bad, yet I should return again into *England*; when I made you a Promise, and gave you my Faith that I would. Another Opinion was, that I carried to Sea with me 16000 Pieces, and that was all the Voyage I intended, only to get Money into my hands, and that I had weighed my Voyage before: Whereas I protest I had but 100 Pounds in the World, Whereof

whereof I gave 25 Pounds to my Wife. The Reason of this Speech was this: There was entred 20000 Pounds, and yet but 4000 Pounds in the Surveyor's Book; now I gave my Bill for the other 16000 Pounds for divers Adventures; but I protest I had not a Penny of Money more than 100 Pounds, as I hope to be sav'd. Another Slander was rais'd, That I would have gone away from them, and left them at *Gulana*; but there were a great many worthy Men, who accompanied me always, as my Serjeant-Major *George Raleigh*, and divers others, that knew my Intent was nothing so. And these be the material Points I thought good to speak of. I am now at this instant to render my Account to God, and I protest, as I shall appear before him, that I have spoken is true.

I will speak but a word or two more, because I will not trouble Mr. *Sheriff* too long.

There was a Report spread that I should rejoice at the Death of my Lord of *Essex*; and that I should take Tobacco in his Presence; when, as I protest, I shed Tears at his Death, though I was one of the contrary Faction: and, at the time of his Death, I was all the while in the Armoury at the further end, where I could but see him; I was sorry I was not with him, for I heard he had a desire to see me and be reconciled to me. So that, I protest, I lamented his Death, and good Cause had I; for it was the worse for me as it proved, for after he was gone, I was little beloved.

And now, I intreat you all to join with me in Prayer, that the Great God of Heaven, whom I have grievously offended, being a Man full of all Vamty, and have lived a sinful Life, in all sinful Callings, having been a Soldier, a Captain, a Sea-Captain, and a Courtier, which are all Places of Wickedness and Vice; that God (I say) would forgive me, and Cast away my Sins from me, and that he would receive me into

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everlasting Life. So I take my leave of you all, making my Peace with God.

When the Company were order'd to withdraw from the Scaffold, he took the Lord Arundel by the Hand, and intreated him to desire the King, That no scandalous Writing, to defame him, might be publish'd after his Death: Saying further to him, My Lord, I have a long Journey to go, and therefore will take my Leave. He then put off his Gown and Doublet, and call'd to the Headf-man to shew him the Axe, which being not presently shewn him, I prithee let me see it, said he, Dost thou think that I am afraid of? When it was brought to him, he felt along upon the Edge of it, and turning to the Sheriff, said with a Smile, This is a Sharp Medicine, but it is a Physitian for all Diseases.

He then disposed himself for the Block, and after a short Prayer and a Sign given, at two Blows his Head was separated from the Body, and such a large Effusion of Blood proceeded from his Veins, that it was conjectur'd he might by the Strength of Nature have survived many Years.

This was the fatal End of the Great Sir Walter Raleigh, once so highly in Favour with Queen Elizabeth, and next to Drake the great Scourge and Terror of the Spaniards. A Man of extraordinary Bravery, and admirable Abilities, who in his Excellent Writings has nobly trac'd the Steps of the Divine Providence and Vengeance in the Falls of Great Men, yet after all could not escape himself.

His Death was manag'd with so high and religious Resolution, as if a Roman had acted a Christian, or rather a Christian a Roman: So that amongst the Number who contributed to the Destruction of the Earl of Essex, none but he dyed pitied.

King James, finding that his Subjects prosecuted his Death with such Resentment, and his Memory with such

